

The Man and the Tribe

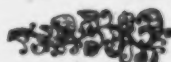
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who needed food, by the indolent who were too lazy to 567
 provide for their own support, by gamblers and by prosti-
 tutes who wanted finery. Parents often sold a child, to be
 replaced by a younger one when the first was old enough
 materially to contribute to the family welfare. Sometimes
 destitute people offered a bondsman in return for a loan [426]
 from a more fortunate neighbor. If the bondsman died in
 service or the master took any property unlawfully the debt
 was discharged. To avoid this contingency the owner made
 the slave live at home and perform only personal services.
 Slavery, except in the case of war prisoners, was not too
 exacting. A slave could control his family, own property or
 even have slaves of his own. His children were always born
 free. What the slave lost was his eligibility for tribal office,
 which depended, as we have seen, on public service and was
 negated by his reliance on the bounty of others or his com-
 mission of antisocial acts.

An important aspect of the legal code of the Aztecs in- [689]
 volved the loss of civil rights as a result of flagrant antisocial 626
 acts. In general, custom dictated and regulated human be-
 havior. Membership in the community brought safety and
 subsistence. To break away or to be cast off meant death at
 the hands of foes or isolation as a solitary wanderer, a prey
 to marauding beasts. Competition for rank and renown ex-
 isted in the field of public service rather than in the acqui-
 sition of wealth. Hence the antisocial behavior implicit in
 attaining many of our own higher grades or ranks was held
 to a minimum.*

Growth of the community to a size where none but the 692 •
 great were known to society at large probably tended to 186
 break down the sense of membership and participation, so

- 692 that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsi-
 [186] bility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)
- 688 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were
 775 rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.
- 681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evil-doer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)
- 685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-



Fourteenth Chapter: here are described the palace and the houses of the lords: how were kept the houses of the lords [and] the great palace where the ruler dwelt; [how] all the lords' were disposed there, and there were determined the tributes or warfare; and in that place there was eating and drinking when the ruler assembled the people there.

FIRST PARAGRAPH, in which is described the court of justice, the high court, [in which], when something was harmed, when some did evil, there they passed judgment on them.

Thlaxitlan:¹ there were the rulers, the princes, and the high judges. All the complaints of the lower classes and common folk they there heard and judged. And all death [sentences] they there meted out; either they would strangle one with a cord, or stone him to death, or slay him under wooden staves,² beaten; or some nobleman or judge was to be shaven [as a disgrace], or driven [out of the land], or confined, or made a commoner; or one would be seized and jailed in a wooden cage.³ And there they delivered slaves from [undeserved] bondage.

[When] Motecuzuma was lord, there was famine for two years, and many noblemen sold their young sons and maidens. When Motecuzuma heard of this, he commanded that all [these] noble youths be brought together, and that their masters be told that their goods [which they had paid for them] were to be restored and returned to them. With large capes and mantles, and dried maize grains he paid the price for the noblemen. And a double forfeit he then paid in order to redeem and deliver the noblemen from bondage.

In that place, the Thlaxitlan, they did not delay the hearings. At once, forthwith, a judgment was pro-

Injc 14. capitulo vncan mjtioa in tecpancalli irr dato-
cacalli, ic mopia tlatoacalli, vej tecpan in vncan ca
tlatoan, ixquich tlacatl vncan tecpanoa, vncan mo-
tzonequij in tlein tequijl, anoce iauiol: ioan vncan
atloa tlaqualo, injc vnca tecenquixtia tlatoanij.

INJC CE PARRAPHO ipan mjtioa in vncā tlato-
loia, in audiençia in jquac itla itlacauia, in aquiçue
tlatlaoa, vncan qujntlatzontequiliaia. 692●

Thlaxitlan, vncan catca tlatoque tlaçopipilti, tecu-
tlatoque: in jxquich tlamantli in jnetilhujl cujtlā-
pilli atlapalli maçealli: vnca qujcaquiliaia, vncan
qujtlatzontequiliaia; ioan ixquich tlamantli miquiz-
tli vncan qujmontequia aço aca quimecanizque,
anoço aca qujtezepachoçque, anoço aca quauhtica
miquiz qujujtezquizeque, anoço aca pilli, anoço
tecutlato, ximalot, totocot, callaliloz, macealcuepa-
lot, anoço aca ilpilot quauhtcalco tlaliloz: ioan vncan
qujntlatlacollaçia, in tlatlacoç.

Tlatocati in motecucuma, oxinjitl in maianaloc, in
pipilti mijequinjin, in quinnamacaque in jntelpoch-
oan, ioan in jmjchpuchoan, in jcoac in oqujac mote-
cucuma: tlanacoçi injc nechicolozque, in jxquichtin
tlaçotipipilti, ioan notzalozque in jntecuhoan, injc
macoçque, injc cuepilotozque in jnatlajquj. Veuçj til-
matli, ioan quachtli, ioan tlaolli, injc qujmpatiorica
pipilti, iol opamjxetapan injc qujntlatlaujli, injc
qujntlatlacollaz pipilti. 693

In oncan jn thlaxitlan amo te vecaoia in neteil-
hujli, çan njman icitlha motzontequia, in tlein 692
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1. Cf. Sahagún, op. cit., III, pp. 22-23: "Este conde, tlaxitl, quien dize, persona noble, gozaba a su vez, . . . y los compuestos de tlaxitl que se componen con nombres suaves, significan persona suada, como tlaxitlan es tlaxitl, una persona blanda, o mejor." Also cf. Landolt (Schulze Jena): *Gliederung der Alt-aztekischen Volks in Familie, Band und Dorf, aus dem Aztekischen Urtext Bernardino de Sahagún's* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1957), p. 32.

2. Chast, op. cit., I, p. 97, defines the term as the highest criminal court, meaning "those placed below, or the feet."

3. See Pl. 66.

4. See Pls. 67, 68.

692 nounced. And in what was there made known, the
685 lords did nothing for friendship's sake; they exacted
nothing as reward: nor delayed [any case].

vncan caquijtiloia tlatoque ate quicnjubchioia ate
tlaxtlaujlica quixpachoaia, anoço qujuecaoaia.

SECOND PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the
court, the place of discussion, where spoke the judges.
[693] Teccalli, or Teccalco: there were the judges and
noblemen.⁹ Every day the common folk and vassals
[72] laid complaints before them. Calmly and prudently
they heard the complaints of the vassals; in the picture
writing which recorded the case, they studied the
complaints. And when they tested their truth, they
sought out and inquired of informers and witnesses
who could size up the plaintiffs, [who knew] what
had been stolen and what was charged.

687 And the ruler, if he knew anything ill of these
judges—perhaps that they needlessly delayed the case
of common folk, that they deliberated two years or
even four—[that] they could not pronounce judgment
because of either a bribe or kinship,—he then
seized them and jailed them in wooden cages, exacted
the penalty, and slew them, so that the judges might
walk in dread.

[When] Motecuzuma was lord, he learned many
ill things of the judges Mixcoatlailotlac, Teicno-
tlamachti, Tlacochealcatl, Iztlaca mixcoatlailotlac,
Umaca, Toqual, Uiclolinqui, [all] of Tlatilulco—
that they had unjustly discharged their office of
judge. Then he seized them, jailed them in wooden
cages, exacted the penalty, and slew them.

692 THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described the
685 place of discussion where were the brave warriors
684 and the noblemen.

Tezpilcalli: there were [to be found] and were
established the noblemen, the brave warriors,⁷ the
valiant men, wise in war. If the ruler knew some-
thing ill of some nobleman—although he were a
great prince,⁸ or brave warrior—if he had com-
mitted adultery, then he sentenced him to be stoned
before the people, to die stoned.

[When] Motecuzuma was lord, one who was a
prince, named Uitzanaual ecamalacoatl, committed

INJC VME PARRAPHO, itechpo tlatoa in audi-
encia in tlatoaian in vncan tlatoaia tecutlat...que.

Teccalli, teccalco, vncan catea in tecutlatoque, in
teteuti, in momistlat inixpan moteilhujia, cujla-
pilli atlappilli maçoalli, nujian iocuxca, in qujcaqua
in jnnetilhujl maçoalli: tlappilacujlilpan in quj-
poaia, in qujtaia netelhujlli: auh injc qujnneltiaia,
qujntemoaia, qujmjtlanja in machicque, in tlanet-
tilian, in qujmachila moteilhujque, in tlein qujmo-
cujcujlia, in tlein ipan moteilhujia.

Auh in tlatoan, inla itla qujnmachili in iehoantia
tecutlatoque, aço çã tlapic qujuecaoa, in jnnetilhujl
cujtlapilli, atlappilli, aço ie uexujtl, anoço ie nauhxujtl
qujnmjcia in amo uel qujzontecuj, aço çan ipampa
tlaxtlaujlli, anoço hoiohcaiotl: njman qujmjlpi,
quauhcalco qujntalia, qujzactuij, qujmjcia, injc
mauhca teaque tecutlatoque.

Tlatocati motecuzuma, mijec tlamantli in quj-
machili tecutlatoque mixcoatlailotlac teicnotla-
machti, tlacochealcatl, iztlaca mixcoatlailotlac vmaca,
toquai, uiclolinqui, tlatilulco in amo melaoac qujchi-
oia in jtequjub tecutlatolli: njman qujmjlpi,
quauhcalco qujntali, qujzactuiaque, qujmjcia.

INJC EI PARRAPHO: vncan rajtoa in tlatoaian,
in vncan catea in tiacaaan, ioan in pipilli.

Tezpilcalli, vncan catea, vncan teppanoia in pi-
pilli, tiacahoan oqujchti, in iauc matinj, in tlatoan
inla aca itla qujnmachili pilli, in manel cenca tlaço-
pilli tiacauh inla oetlaxin, njman qujtlatzontecujlia,
injc teixpan tepetacholo tetica mjquj

motecuzuma tlatocati, ce tlatcat tlaçopilli itoa
vitzanaual ecamalacoatl retlaxi in oconteipauique ix-

9. Sahagún, in the corresponding Spanish text, refers to all of these places as "another hall"—"otra sala."

7. Manuel Orozco y Berra, in *Historia antigua y de la conquista de México* (México: Tipografía de Gonzalo A. Esteva, 1890), I, p. 287, explains that "En cada barrio de México había un tribunal, electo anualmente por los señores; determinando de causas litigadas, dando cuenta después a los jueces superiores." Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 97, writes: "The four round figures behind the judges, called *teccali*, are young men of rank who attend the courts for instruction, so that in time they might rise to the position of judge." (See also ff. 67r and 68r of the Mendoza Codex.)

7. *Yucatan, pilli, tepilli*: cf. Sahagún, *op. cit.*, III, p. 26; Jasso, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 68.

8. *Tlappilli*: cf. Jasso, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

adultery. They accused him before Mocetzuma, who then condemned him to be stoned before the people.

FOURTH PARAGRAPH, in which is discussed the council chamber of the brave warriors devoted to war.

Tequiuacacalli or Quauhcalli: there were the brave warriors, the generals, and the commanding generals,⁹ whose personal charge was command in war.

Achcauhcalli: there were the constables, the brave warriors who were the ruler's executioners. These who brought to an end [the life of] any upon whom sentence had fallen [were] the Quauhnochtli, Atempanecatli, and Tecacocacatl. And if they erred in something, they exacted the penalty of them and they died.

Cuicacalli: there were the masters of the youths and the rulers of the youths, there established in order to oversee what was by-way of work. And every day, when the sun had already set, they turned their attention to dances. They went quite naked. So they went to the house of songs; so they danced with song, proceeding with, about their necks, only [a cape] made like a net. They set in place and proceeded with their forked heron feather ornaments and the red cord with which they bound their hair; and [they had] their turquoise ear plugs and sea shell lip pendants. All the youths, when they danced and sang, ceased when it was well into the night, when for the first time the fire priests and [other] priests blew the shell trumpets. None of [the youths] entered their homes; none slept at home. Rather, they went straight to the young men's houses, which were everywhere. There they slept, stretched out quite naked. Only little did they sleep. On the morrow, when it was still dark, they set forth, to lodge in the house of the ruler.

And when the ruler knew something ill of them—either drunkenness or concubinage;¹⁰ or that they wrought something to their advantage behind the back of the ruler; [or] that without his command they levied tribute on the town, perchance of chocolate, or of food, which became a tribute, and it was done without leave, and [that] they exacted as tribute whatever they wished, then the ruler commanded that they be jailed in wooden cages. He condemned them to pay the penalty; perchance they strangled

pan motecuçuma, njman qujoallatzontequijli, injc teixpan tetepacholoc.

IC NAUJ PARRAPHO, vncan mjtos in jnneno-
gotzia in tiacabao in jpampa iaujol.

Tequjoacacalli, quauhcalli, vncan catca in tiacaoan
tlacochcalcat tlacatecatl, in jnnexcaujl iauitequj:

Achcauhcalli vncan catca in achcauhtli in tiaca-
hoan in jnemjeticaoan catca tlatoanj, iehoantin quj-
tzonquixtia in aqujn tlein ipan omotzonc, quauh-
nochtli, atempamecatl, tezcacocacatl, auh in jila
qujtlacoia, qujtzacutiua mjqua.

Cujcacalli, vncan catca in tiacabaoan, in telpuch-
tlatoque vncan tlacapanoia injc qujchia tlein
téqujl, auh in momuzilac, in jquac ie calaquj tona-
tiah: tlamaçcoaliztli ipan qujmatia, çan petlauhtitua,
injc viia cujcacali, injc oncujcoanoia çanijo inquech
in onactiua, iuhqujn matlat ic tlachiuhltli, imaztaxel
comantuij, tohacatl injc qujlpia intzonchichilic-
patl: ioan ixiuhnacoch, ioan intempilol eptli, ixquich
in telpuchtl in oncujcoanoia iocac necaoaloia in
tlaquuh tlapoiaoa, in jcoac iancujcan tlapitzaia tlen-
macaque tlamaçazque, amo ac ichan calaquja, amo
ac ichan oncochia, ca njman vmpa tlameloia, in
noujian telpuchcalli mamacca: in oncan cochia, çan
petlauhtoca, çan achi in concochia, momotlac in
oc iohcan qujca in ontepanoa, yn ichan tlatoanj.

Auh in jcoac itla qujnmachilia in tlatoanj, aço
tlaaoanaliztli, anoço nemecatiztli, anoço itla icampa
qujqujeria, in tlatoanj: in amo itencopa, itla qujtete-
qujia in calla aço atl, tlaqualli tequjpan iecauj,
moioçoa, qujtetequjia injc intech monequj, njman
tlanaotia in tlatoanj, quauhcalco qujntalia, qujntla-
tzonequjia, injc qujtzacutiui, aço qujnmecanja,
anoço qujntetepachoa, anoço quauhtica qujnujute-
quj teixpan, injc mjctilo, injc maujztli qujteca
tlatoanj.

9. *Flowerbeetles, discussed: see Sahagún, op. cit., III, p. 27; Jarr, op. cit., p. 70; Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 102, n. 3; III, pp. 57-58.*
10. After *conmuntalli*, the Real Academia de la Historia MS has *conmuntallizalli*—or *adultery*.

Such were, in a general way, the higher functions of the Mexi-⁶⁴⁶can council, and they appear, if we are permitted to characterize⁶⁹² them to be only arbitratve and directive. Yet the members of that council had other duties of a purely judicial nature.

No conflict occurred between its jurisdiction and that of the kins. It was neither superior nor inferior to it, but wholly independent, even without any connection with it. Hence it extended:

1. Over the unattached class, the hangers-on to the tribe, or outcasts from the bond of kinship.¹⁹³

2. Over all the people composing the tribe, irrespective of kinship, at places specially placed under tribal care, or reserved for tribal business, and therefore *neutral ground* for the members of all the calpulli. These neutral localities were the official buildings, the central or tribal "house of god," and especially the great "tianquiz" or market places.

The outcasts were, happily for the preservation of tribal society, not very numerous. Still, from their very origin, they were the most disorderly part of the people and crimes were certainly more common among them than among those upon whose passions the tie of kinship and the obligations resulting therefrom acted like a wholesome check. It required a judiciary power constantly on hand to repress and punish the misdemeanors committed among this class.

The "tecpan," the great central "teocalli" and the square on³⁶⁸ which it stood, and the market, were regular meeting-places of⁶²¹
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siguiente, etc." (Cap. LX. p. 478): "Montezuma, aplacándose de ellos, los mandó aposentar, y llamando su consejo, propu-oles la demanda que traían." *Códice Ramírez* (p. 61): "El Rey Itzcohuatl mostró gran contento con la embajada respondiendo con muy gratas palabras; mandó aposentar á los mensajeros, y honrarlos, y tratar como á su propia persona, diziéndoles que descansassen, que el día siguiente les daría la respuesta." See also *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap I, p. 833): "Acabada la Embaxada, si el Embaxador no era de muy gran Principe, no se le respondia cosa, hasta otro día; salían con él algunos, acompañandole á la Calixtara, adonde se proveía de lo necesario, y en el entretanto el Señor comunicaba con los de su Consejo lo que se havia de responder, lo qual hacia uno de ellos, y no él." But the most complete picture of such delegations and the manner in which they were received is found in *Felancurt* ("*Tercero Mexicano*," Parte II y Trat. IIa, cap. II, pp. 378 and 379). It is too long to be copied. I merely allude to the words: "Acabada la embajada, le volvian á la posada mientras se juntaban para la respuesta." It has been adopted by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XI, pp. 479 and 471).

¹⁹³ The unattached class was under protection of no kin; therefore, if such a "bonded man" made his escape to the Tecpan, he became liberated from his bond. Already mentioned by Gomara ("*Conquista*," *Vedra*, I. p. 442), and subsequently confirmed by others.

643 The power to appoint, which the "chief of men" enjoyed within the limits of the official household, implied, to the same extent, the power to remove and to punish. It was not even necessary to refer such cases to the action of the council.

In punishing summarily acts of insubordination, or of treachery, when committed during warfare, the "chief of men" acted as commander-in-chief and in strict compliance with the duties of that office.

Lastly, a certain amount of discretionary power was necessarily vested in the chief commander for the public good. Placed at the "tecpan" to "watch, guard and protect" the tribe and the confederacy, it was necessary to empower the "Tlacatecuhtli" in cases of great urgency, to act "on the spur of the moment." It was not a privilege of royalty or a despotic right, but an obligation resulting from the nature of the office.

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692 Consequently the "chief of men" was not, properly, the executioner of tribal justice either. This duty devolved upon other war-chiefs of lower rank, who, although superior in command to the leaders of the kins, when on the war-path, never otherwise interfered with the duties of the latter, any more than tribal jurisdiction conflicted with that of the autonomous kins. These chiefs were the "four leaders of the four great quarters of Mexico Tenuchtitlan,"²⁷¹ or, as we have already intimated, of the four *phratries* into which the twenty kins had again agglomerated for religious and military purposes. These four "great quarters," named respectively, "Moyotlan," "Teopan," "Aztacalco" and "Cuexpopan,"²⁷² were not, as the current notion has it, so many governmental subsections, or wards of aboriginal Mexico. Shells

even treat them as traitors, and secure their persons to prevent injury to the public cause. All this, of course, provided the story be true!

The cases where secrecy is enjoined under penalty of death, are so plain that no illustration is needed. The "chief of men" had the right, in preparing general business, to give secret orders, to detail particular persons on secret missions. Anyone divulging the secrets entrusted to him, committed an act of treason, and therefore it was necessary that he should be chastised on the spot and on the spur of the moment, to obviate further mischief.

²⁷¹ "Art of War" (pp. 120, 121 and 122, especially notes 97, 99 and 101).

103 ²⁷² The formation of these geographical circumscriptions I have already explained. The names can, in part, be etymologized. They are respectively: "Moyotlan" or place of the mosquito, from "moyotl," mosquito (*Molina* II, p. 28); "Teopan" or place of God, from "Teotl," God; "Aztacalco," "place of the house of the heron," from "Axtali," heron (*Molina* I, p. 65 and II, p. 10), and "calli," house; "Cuexpopan" or "place of the dyke," from "cuespotli," dyke (*Molina* I, p. 22, II, p. 26). All of which are, respectfully, submitted.

of as many original kins, common worship, perhaps, and common leadership in battle, were all that remained of the former organic cluster.⁷²² Rites of worship, as practised by a phratry, it is not the place here to investigate, and the position and functions of the phratry in warfare have already been discussed by us. The office of tribal executioners of justice, however, vested in the "four leaders" of the four phratries, deserves particular attention here.

The names of the four war-captains or rather their official titles, are: "man of the house of darts" (Tlacochealcatl), "cutter of men" (Tlaccatecatl), "bloodshedder" (Ezhuahuacatl), and "chief of the Eagle and prickly pear" (Cuauhnocchtecuhtli). These officers are first noticed in the beginning of the fifteenth century, at the time the confederacy was formed.⁷²⁴ They appear as immediate adjuncts or assistants—military lieutenants as it were—to the "chief of men" then promoted to the position of confederate commander, as well as of the "Cihuacohuatl."⁷²⁵ Their

⁷²² These four geographical clusters, each comprising a certain number of original kins or calpulli, became known subsequently as the four Indian warlike of Mexico, named respectively, San Juan (Moyotlan), San Pablo (Teopan), San Sebastian (Aztlacalco), Santa Maria (Cuicapan). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LIX, p. 98), *Velancurt* ("Crónica," etc., p. 124). *Durán* (Cap. V, p. 42). That each of them comprised a certain number of kins has already been stated. The four chiefs are often mentioned as "conocillors;" but their very position as immediate assistants to the "chief of men," is clearly established by the "*Códice Ramírez*" (pp. 57 and 58), which agrees with *Durán* (Cap. XI, p. 103) and also by *Sahagún* (Lib. XXX, p. 318): "Elegido el señor, luego elegian otros cuatro que eran como senadores que siempre habian de estar al lado de él, y entender en todos los negocios graves del reino." . . . This makes it evident that they must have been war-chiefs, and not representatives, in the supreme council, of an administrative circumscription superior to the "calpulli"—"barrio" or localized kindred group. The four "main quarters" therefore formed military bodies only, and this follows plainly from the detailed descriptions of warfare, so profusely given in the chronicles of *Tezozomoc*. The truth of this fact has been felt, though not fully understood, by *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 494 and 495) where he hints at the four chiefs (under various names) as so many "classes of generals." These four superior war-captains are, besides, found also in Michhuacan, "*Relacion, etc., etc., Mechuacan*" ("Primera Parte," p. 13): "tenia puesto cuatro señores muy principales en cuatro fronteras de la provincia," and in Peru, where they have been decorated with the titles of "vice-roy."

It is interesting to note here that the term "barrio" is applied by Spanish authors indiscriminately to the four great subdivisions and to the kins themselves.

⁷²⁴ *Durán* (Cap. XI, pp. 97, 102 and 103), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XV, p. 24) both place the organization by which these four chiefs appear prominent, immediately after the overthrow of the Tecpaneca, and before the confederacy with the Tescucans and Tlaco-pans. *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimeques*," Cap. XXXIV, p. 236) speaks in general terms of a "reorganization," after the confederacy had been formed. So does *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 403), while "*Códice Ramírez*" (pp. 57 and 58) agrees with the two first.

⁷²⁵ It is self-evident that these four chieftains were also inferior to the "snake-woman;" and this fact is amply illustrated. *Durán* (Cap. XVI, pp. 140 and 141) con-

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